

programme, tools and strategies which aim to foster transdisciplinarity, and embed sex and gender and trauma informed approaches within our work in treatment, research and policy development. Are you by reading this book all set to embark on a transdisciplinary path? Not entirely: each chapter is accompanied by references for further reading which need to be followed up. However, Greaves, Poole and Boyle, with their contributors, have succeeded in providing a fresh challenge to the current, taken for granted approaches.

In doing this *Transforming Addiction* also succeeds in highlighting areas of addiction research, treatment and policy making which presently serve to reinforce stigma and the marginalisation of those we are entrusted with empowering, and in this way they certainly whet the appetite for a transdisciplinary future.

**Maggie Boreham**

*Research Assistant at the Institute of Psychiatry, Psychology and Neuroscience, King's College London, London, UK.*

**Chasing the Scream:  
The First and Last  
Days of the War  
on Drugs**

**Johann Hari**  
**Bloomsbury**  
**London**  
**2015**  
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*Chasing the Scream* is a compelling and often moving book. The 18 chapters draw us into the multiple overlapping worlds of people who use drugs and who prohibit drugs, taking us through a kaleidoscope of views, places and times. There is an excellent index covering topics and people, a useful section on narrative technique, and a thorough Notes section detailing sources.

The opening chapter The Black Hand includes the story of jazz singer Billie Holiday, and the campaign of harassment waged against her by Harry Anslinger and his Federal Bureau of Narcotics: "Anslinger is our own darkest impulses, given a government department and a license to kill." Anslinger comes across as a corrupt and closed-minded bully, while Holiday seemed a lovely but damaged person whose life could have been greatly improved by a diamorphine prescription. Ironically, due to illness on retirement, Anslinger "took daily doses of morphine" and "died with his veins laced with the chemicals he had fought to deny the world."

Hari's style is primarily journalistic, making appeals to emotion as well as intellect. He typically deals with evidence in a clear and concise manner, though is selective and often glosses over the fine details – an approach which may be too uncritical for social scientists. For instance, Chapter 15 – Snowfall and Strengthening – tells the legendary story of Dr John Marks in Merseyside. From 1987 to 1997, Marks famously prescribed diamorphine in Widnes and Warrington, two Cheshire towns – not Wirral (Merseyside) as stated. Hari notes Marks "expanded his heroin prescription program [...] to more than four hundred." As Mersey drug strategy research director until 1991, I found no more than 30 percent of the ~400 clients of Marks' two DDUs were prescribed diamorphine – most received oral methadone. Prevalence across Widnes and Warrington was estimated to be 3,300 (1 percent) – so if only around 120 (4 percent) heroin users were prescribed diamorphine annually, the significant reductions in harm achieved could not be attributed solely to this intervention. Instead, these outcomes were more attributable to the wider regional harm-reduction strategy, based not just on flexible prescribing but also on needle exchange and other services. In Hari's defence, most writers who have stepped into the murky and myth-laden history of the Mersey harm-reduction movement

have emerged with far less clear a picture.

Hari's book describes the important contributions not just of inspired professionals, but also of user-activist groups such as VANDU. However, there is surprisingly no mention of the International Network of People who Use Drugs – now the leading group representing drug users globally, who are demanding representation on drug policy-making bodies, and a change to the dominant medico-legal discourse on drug use. Indeed, Hari should have questioned his own use of such discriminatory language as “addict” and “clean.” Some of Hari's key conclusions could also have been brought up to date by relating them to the new psychoactive substances market.

My main theoretical disagreement is with Hari's conclusion that the primary cause of “addiction” is lack of positive relationships: “the opposite of addiction is not sobriety – it's connection.”

Though this may be true of the most psycho-socially damaged drug users, research consistently shows that the etiology of drug use is complex, incorporating such diverse factors as genetics, personality, social context, hedonism, and self-transcendence.

These criticisms aside, Hari has delivered a very readable book about illicit drug use, presenting persuasive arguments to support a more humanitarian approach. Though social scientists may prefer more purely objective texts, general readers are likely to regard *Chasing the Scream* as one of the better books advocating for a reformed approach to drug use. I especially recommend it to people who would like a more thorough understanding of human intoxication based on an engaging blend of the personal and political, and the subjective and scientific.

**Russell Newcombe**

*Director at 3D Research, Liverpool, UK.*

## **Cannabis Nation. Control and Consumption in Britain 1928-2008**

**James H. Mills**  
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Historians help us understand contemporary issues by explaining the story of origin, tracking the unfolding of events to demonstrate how a situation came about. Mills does not only reach into the past but takes us also to different continents in the process. Contemporary Britain is framed by its colonial experience, the encounter with other civilisations and their cultures of consumption. The empire rebounds as the accelerated flow of goods, people and habits transform motherland and outposts beyond recognition. Interestingly, the biography of the narrator echoes the story of cannabis. In a sense, the book is a continuation of a

previous research project, *Cannabis Britannica, Empire, Trade and Prohibition 1800-1928*, where he tracks the globalisation of cannabis. It was only in the nineteenth century that Indian migrants introduced their favourite intoxicant to the most far flung corners of the empire whence it became the world's most popular illicit drug. Though each book is a self-contained history, the first helps understand the fantastic paradox that forms the key topic of the second – cannabis prohibition in the UK.

The title mentions consumption and control as interrelated themes but the main concern of the narrative is with control. Even the fascinating glimpses we get into the patterns of cannabis use in the 1930-1950s are from the standpoint of control agencies, the records of police, courts and Home Office. This may well be due to the scarcity of alternative sources, but they also drive home one of the